

## INTERNATIONAL

## Herald Tribune

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THE WEATHER — PARIS: Friday, cloudy, possible snow. Temp. —3 to 22. LONDON: Friday, snow. Temp. —3 to 22. 34. CHANNEL: Monday, snow. Temp. —3 to 22. Temp. —3 to 16 (6-41). FRANKFURT: Friday, cloudy. Temp. —10 to 21 (14-25). NEW YORK: Friday, fair, Temp. —4 to 16 (23). ADDITIONAL WEATHER DATA — PAGE 12

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PARIS, FRIDAY, JANUARY 8, 1982

Established 1837

## Poles Use Troops in Factories

## Rulers Say Union Plans Resistance

From Agency Dispatches

VIENNA — Poland's military rulers said Thursday that soldiers were working in factories, mines and farms and "protecting" transport, and they accused the Solidarity union of planning to confront the Communist regime with spikes, gasoline bombs and barricades.

The report of soldiers performing civilian jobs suggested that large-scale boycotts by workers were under way. Letters circulated by Solidarity leaders have urged passive resistance, but Warsaw television said a newly discovered Solidarity document called for confrontation.

The television report said the document proposed that barricades be used to block troop movements, that "special spies" be used against government vehicles, and that workers seize weapons and obtain arms from the United States, France and Britain.

It said the Solidarity document called for disruption of radio and TV programs, establishment of Solidarity channels of communication, including short-wave radio operators and using church services for "propaganda purposes."

## Shortages Worsen

Radio Warsaw suggested food shortages were growing more acute, and the official PAP press agency said blizzards in the north downed power lines, shut ports, and disrupted rail service across the country.

Two Solidarity leaders who apparently escaped the arrests of union activists, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Zbigniew Janas, exhorted Polish workers in clandestine letters circulated in Warsaw, according to uncensored reports reaching the West on Wednesday.

"Remember that our union has not failed apart from the stomping of Jaruzelski's shoe," wrote Mr. Frasyniuk, 27-year-old member of Solidarity's 18-man presidium and head of the independent union's Wroclaw regional branch. He was referring to Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the premier, party leader and head of the ruling Military Council for National Salvation.

A letter signed by Mr. Janas, head of the Solidarity branch at the Ursus tractor plant near Warsaw, called on workers to make preparations "in deep conspiracy" for a general strike.

## Warning on Violence

But both union leaders warned against violent resistance to the authorities, saying too much blood had already been spilled.

"Remember that the authorities are murderers," Mr. Janas wrote. "They are indifferent to the number of people they will shoot if it suits their interests."

There have been unconfirmed reports of more than 200 deaths under martial law; the government insists there have been eight.

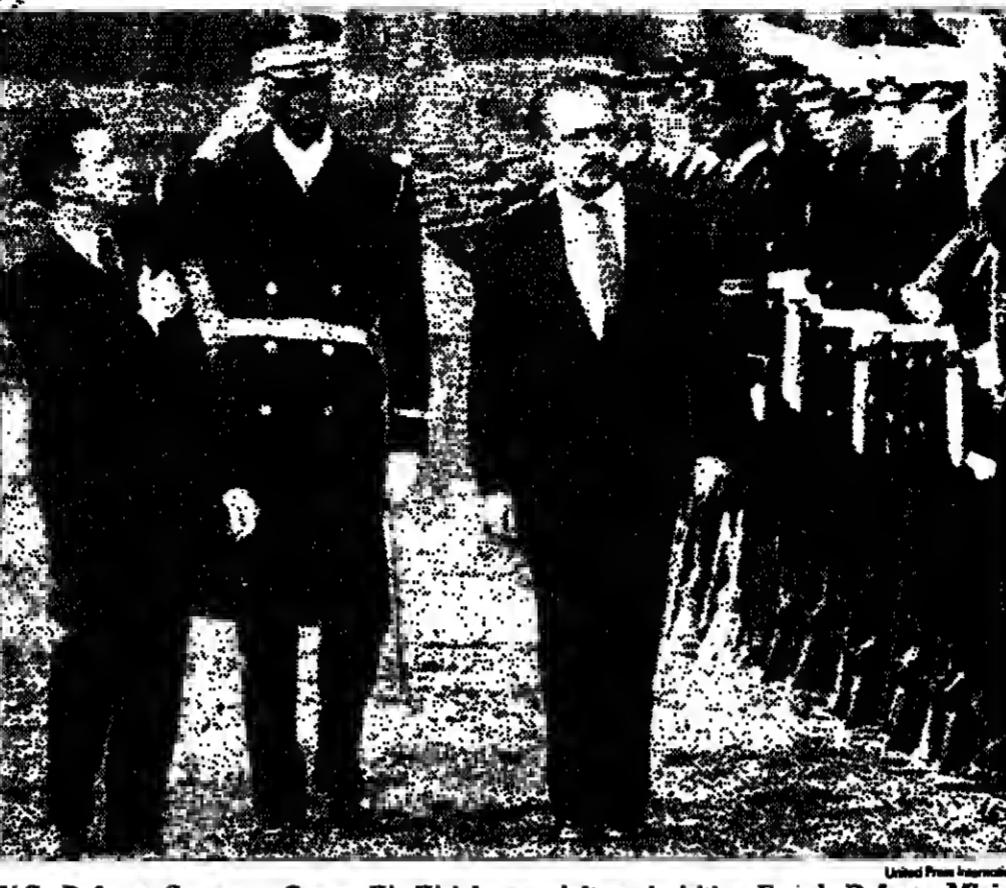
In Vienna, Tadeusz Wojciechowski, a former Polish Communist Party member, told Western reporters that his colleagues at home have been forced to sign loyalty oaths to the regime.

"What else can they do?" he said. "Someone who has a family cannot suddenly refuse to work."

Mr. Wojciechowski said he decided to leave his job as radio and TV correspondent in Bucharest rather than serve "as a military correspondent against my own nation."

Other sources said that Polish journalists, under the process of

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)



U.S. Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger, left, and visiting French Defense Minister Charles Hernu inspected an honor guard Thursday in Washington. Mr. Hernu arrived Wednesday.

## Carrington Says Western Europe May Strengthen Stand on Poland

By Leonard Downie Jr. and Edward Cody  
Washington Post Service

London — Western European countries are considering a number of ways of going beyond condemnatory statements to take concerted action against the Polish and Soviet governments in martial law in Poland is not eased, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, said Thursday.

The Reagan administration has indicated it would be satisfied with only a strong statement of condemnation from Monday's meeting of NATO foreign ministers in Brussels.

But Lord Carrington said in an interview that Washington still "wants to see some action" from Western Europe that would complement although not match the sanctions Mr. Reagan has imposed against Poland and the Soviet Union.

France, as part of its stand on the Polish crisis, is said to be reconsidering the scope of a multibillion-dollar natural gas deal that would make France dependent on the Soviet Union for a third of its supplies by the end of the decade.

Reversal by France

The French move would reverse earlier dismissals of warnings from the Reagan administration that the contract would create political and economic dangers by making Paris too reliant on the Soviet Union. An official in the Ministry of External Relations in Paris said the new doubt stemmed directly from the upsurge over Poland and that, as a result, a final decision was expected soon.

Several recommendations from the ministries involved have been forwarded to President Francois Mitterrand, including one that the agreement be reduced from delivery of eight billion cubic meters of natural gas a year to six billion cubic meters, the French official added.

The deal with Moscow was scheduled to begin in 1984 and last 25 years. After talks in November between French officials and a Soviet delegation, it was reported that agreement was almost complete except for a formula to calculate the base price. The talks were set to resume Jan. 18, another rea-

son Mr. Mitterrand was expected to make his decision soon.

Diplomatic sources in Paris said that doubts on the gas deal were not part of talks among European nations on possible sanctions against the Soviet Union over its role in Poland. Nevertheless, a French official said, a decision to reduce the amount of gas purchased from Moscow should be interpreted as a facet of France's return to the Soviet role in Poland.

## Meetings to Continue

Lord Carrington and other senior British officials suggested the Europeans may eventually agree on some actions through consultations that began at a Common Market foreign ministers' meeting this week and will continue in other meetings this month. Lord Carrington refused to discuss details or say how long he thought this process would take, but he

added, "I hope we can push things along."

Diplomats in London and other European capitals said other steps being considered included:

• Offering Poland a "big package" of extensive Common Market financial, food and other aid if the military government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski met specific Western European demands for an easing of martial law and negotiations with Roman Catholic Church and Solidarity movement leaders.

• Implementing, instead, if nothing changed, a smaller package of undisclosed European economic sanctions against Poland, which a European diplomatic source said "would have the same effect as Mr. Reagan's measures, but would be different and would reflect differences in European patterns of trade."

• Refusing to approve more (Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

## INSIDE

## Marathon Merger

U.S. Steel took control of Marathon Oil only a day after Mobil failed to halve the \$6.15-billion takeover, the second most expensive in U.S. corporate history. Mobil's own \$6.5 billion bid was turned aside because of antitrust rulings. Page 7.

## TOMORROW

## Wren's London

After the Great Fire of 1666 swept through the City of London, Christopher Wren was commissioned to rebuild not only St. Paul's Cathedral but also no fewer than 51 churches. Today 23 of those churches survive in their entirety and offer a chance to explore Wren's world and his genius. A guide to a walking tour, plus a map, will be in the Weekend section.



CHECKED OUT — An Italian paramilitary policeman checks the identity of two men in Verona during a search for kidnapped U.S. Brig. Gen. James L. Dozier. Identity-kit photographs of suspected terrorists (arrow) are attached to the policeman's car. Investigators are examining the transcript of an alleged interrogation issued by the general's captors. Page 5.

From Agency Dispatches

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## Shifts and Complaints by Schmidt May Be Effort to Salvage Image

By Michael Getler  
*Washington Post Service*

WASHINGTON — The effort to fashion U.S.-West German unity in the Polish crisis has produced repeated misstatements and rapidly shifting assessments that may have been intended to help rescue Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany from the image he has developed, fairly or not, of being soft on the Russians.

For example, on a number of occasions during his just-completed visit to Washington, Mr. Schmidt complained publicly and privately that he had not "seen any reflection

### NEWS ANALYSIS

at all" in the American press of the position in the crisis that he and the West German Parliament had taken Dec. 18, five days after the crackdown began in Poland.

Wednesday, Mr. Schmidt got a little help from his friend, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. At a news conference, Mr. Haig volunteered that the chancellor "had complained bitterly, and I think with justification," that his "robust" Dec. 18 speech to the Parliament "seemed to have dropped on a disappearing cloud" ... in the American press.

In fact, as a reporter noted at the press conference, Mr. Schmidt went to Capitol Hill and repeatedly complained to a group of senators that West Germany had not been consulted before the United States imposed economic sanctions on the Soviet Union.

It was another remark that stung the administration because Law-

### Cranston Weighs Presidential Bid

*Los Angeles Times Service*

LOS ANGELES — Sen. Alan Cranston has disclosed that a committee will be formed later this month to explore the "desirability and feasibility" of his running for president in 1984.

The California Democrat said in an interview Wednesday he had made no decision yet, but he indicated that he would like to run if he is convinced it would not be a quixotic gesture.

In fact, neither the section of Mr. Schmidt's December address dealing with Poland nor the parliamentary resolution specifically mentioned the Soviet Union.

Until last week, Mr. Schmidt's

spokesman, Kurt Becker, continued to assert that "we do not share this view" when he was asked if Bonn agreed with the U.S. charge that Moscow instigated the Polish crackdown.

It was an assertion that annoyed top U.S. officials, especially because leading figures in France, Italy and England had by then begun to mention Moscow as the public expression of concern.

### Opposition Proposal

The parliamentary resolution that was passed overwhelmingly on Dec. 18 was actually proposed by the opposition Christian Democrats, who had criticized Mr. Schmidt that day for comments he had made in East Germany, which he was visiting when the Polish crisis began.

In his joint statement with Mr. Reagan Tuesday, Mr. Schmidt and the president also said they "agreed on their analysis of the Polish situation."

On Dec. 30 in Bonn, Mr. Becker had said: "This government believes the evaluation of the situation now as before, is incomplete so that it permits neither a final judgment on the condition of the country nor a prediction about further developments."

Before meeting with the president, Mr. Schmidt went to Capitol Hill and repeatedly complained to a group of senators that West Germany had not been consulted before the United States imposed economic sanctions on the Soviet Union.

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## Troops Work In Factories In Poland

(Continued from Page 1)

"ideological verification," are being called in one by one to sit before panels of up to 10 persons to be questioned about their political views. After going through the process, some journalists said it seemed clear that the decision as to whether they could continue their careers already had been made.

Thousands of Polish journalists were put under involuntary leave after martial law was imposed, and publication of dozens of periodicals has been suspended.

The government has also made changes in the routine in Warsaw schools. One teacher reported that the faculty and students arrived Monday to resume classes that had been canceled following the military crackdown. They found an army veteran sitting in the teachers' coat room observing their actions. The teacher said tape recorders and slide projectors had been locked up and the staff's private classroom keys confiscated.

Before classes, teachers were called into a meeting with an army major, a department director from the Education Ministry and a school inspector. The major said there was a need to tighten discipline and emphasized "patriotic content" in teaching programs.

Trials of union militants continued. A Katowice court convicted five Solidarity members of illegal union activity in the Huta Katowice steel complex, PAP said Thursday. They were sentenced to prison terms ranging from three to six years.

The unionists were found guilty of "organizing, against martial law regulations and in spite of binding suspension of union activities, of strikes in the steel mill and publication of outlawed communiqués and bulletins calling for the continuation of strikes and inciting to murder," PAP said.

But there also is considerable domestic and business community support for Mr. Schmidt's caution in dealing with the Soviet Union. So the view here seems to be that Mr. Schmidt may have hurt himself abroad rather than at home.

Whatever the correct assessment, it is clear to Washington that Mr. Schmidt must be brought into line because a rift between the two key powers on this issue would encourage the Soviets and weaken the Western alliance.

The California Democrat said in an interview Wednesday he had made no decision yet, but he indicated that he would like to run if he is convinced it would not be a quixotic gesture.

Sen. Cranston, 67, is the only Democrat in California history to be elected to three Senate terms. In 1964, he will be 70, slightly older than President Reagan was when he was elected in 1980.

He said documents secretly issued to major creditors in November showed that Poland needed \$10.1 billion to pay its debts in 1982 but that its gold and hard-currency reserves were less than \$230 million at the end of September.

### Bleak Report on Debt

BRUSSELS (Reuters) — Poland has provided Western creditors with another bleak picture of its financial situation and prospects of ever repaying its debts. European banking sources said Thursday.

They said documents secretly issued to major creditors in November showed that Poland needed \$10.1 billion to pay its debts in 1982 but that its gold and hard-currency reserves were less than \$230 million at the end of September.

On the other hand, Mr. Cheys-



The Associated Press

**ARMED AND READY** — Mother Ilarja carries a gun at the Serbian Orthodox Convent she heads in Kosovo province, Yugoslavia. Ethnic Albanians reportedly beat up nuns, destroy crops, blind cattle and terrorize sisters and guests. The area is predominantly Albanian populated.

## Carrington Says Europeans May Alter Stand on Poland

(Continued from Page 1)

government-to-government Common Market food aid to Poland after shipments in the pipeline are completed.

• Taking very limited action against Moscow, such as restricting all European imports from the Soviet Union except oil and natural gas.

### Food Aid Will Continue

But the Europeans would do nothing collectively, according to these sources, that would hinder privately handled European food aid to Poland, jeopardize the Soviet-Western European natural gas pipeline deal, or disrupt East-West arms control negotiations. The Reagan administration's acceptance of these limitations, the sources said, may make it easier to achieve agreement among the European allies on other measures.

Some sources suggested that the West German government may not be as reluctant as previously believed to agree to some of the measures being considered by the European allies.

They noted that Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of West Germany joined Lord Carrington and Claude Cheysson, France's minister of external affairs, in expressing strong interest this week in the idea of offering Poland a major Common Market aid package contingent on easing martial law.

The biggest burdens for this suggestion are its potential cost to the financially pressed Common Market countries and the difficulty in setting and enforcing the conditions Gen. Jaruzelski would have to satisfy to get it.

"What has been done by the American government has been done for American reasons," he said, "and what the Europeans may choose to do can be done for European reasons."

About 10,000 soldiers from the region just north of Afghanistan had moved over the border in recent weeks, two years after the first intervention occurred in 1979, the analysts said Wednesday.

That has brought the total number of Soviet military people in Afghanistan to about 95,000, they said. Reports about a week ago from Western diplomats in Kabul that Soviet forces in Afghanistan numbered 110,000 to 120,000 were overstated, they added.

In addition, the analysts reported new tactics by the Soviet forces that include attacks on insurgent regions by jet aircraft and helicopter gunships from sanctuaries north of the border in the Soviet Union.

Military analysts here reported

several weeks ago that they had evidence the Soviet Union was preparing to increase its forces in Afghanistan.

They surmised that Soviet

troops had been sent to reinforce the occupying army because the occupying army was bogged down in a stalemate with Afghan insurgents.

Appeal to End Executions

LONDON (Reuters) — In letters to be released on Friday, Amnesty International has appealed to the Afghan government and to

guerrillas fighting the government to stop executing prisoners.

The London-based human rights organization said it had sent a letter to President Babrak Karmal of Afghanistan citing reports by Ka

bul radio that at least 16 political prisoners were executed last year.

The letter said that President Kar-

mal told an Amnesty International delegation in February, 1980, that he was committed to abolition of the death penalty.

Hostages to Be Honored

NEWBURGH, N.Y. (UPI) — The 52 Americans held hostage for 44 days in Iran are to be honored on Jan. 25, the first anniversary of their return to the United States.

So far, 14 former hostages have agreed to attend the event, an organizer said. The celebration is being held to commemorate the moment when the hostages set foot on U.S. soil at Stewart Airport in Newburgh.

The former hostages are to be honored at a news conference and dedication ceremony at the airport, then go to the hotel at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point where they stayed after their arrival.

## WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

### Reagan Extends Draft Registration

*The Associated Press*

WASHINGTON — In a policy reversal, President Reagan has decided to extend the draft registration program he once criticized as ineffective and a meaningless gesture, administration sources said Thursday.

Mr. Reagan's turnaround apparently was prompted by advice from Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger and Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr., who argued that suspending draft registration would send the wrong signal to the Soviet Union in the middle of the Polish crisis.

Draft registration was ordered in July, 1980, by President Jimmy Carter. Since then, 6.5 million young men 18 to 21 years old have registered for the draft, and more than 800,000 have failed to do so, according to the Selective Service System. The Justice Department on Dec. 10 temporarily suspended plans to seek indictments against some of those who had not registered.

### Israeli Foreign Minister Meets Pope

*The Associated Press*

VATICAN CITY — Pope John Paul II told Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel on Thursday that a just solution to the Palestinian problem, taking into account the Jewish state's security needs, is vital to Middle East peace, the Vatican reported.

A communiqué released after the pontiff's meeting with Mr. Shamir also reflected long-standing differences between the two sides over Jerusalem, which Israel considers its undivided and eternal capital. The pope called for a "just and agreed upon solution" regarding the city's status.

The 30-minute meeting was the first high-level visit by an Israeli official here in four years. The Vatican communiqué said the pontiff expressed the hope that Middle East peace negotiations would be broadened to include all the interested parties of the region.

### India to Hold Third World Meeting

*The Associated Press*

NEW DELHI — India, in a follow-up to the October economic conference in Mexico, will convene a meeting of 32 countries Feb. 23-24 to firm up the Third World's position in future North-South negotiations, a government spokesman said Thursday.

There has been "an overwhelmingly positive response" to the initiative of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her government, the spokesman said.

The meeting will deal with matters such as energy, resources, foreign aid, investment and trade terms with industrialized countries. The list of participants will be announced in a few days, the spokesman said.

### Zimbabwe Holds 3 Security Officers

*The Associated Press*

SALISBURY — Three white security police officers have been arrested for allegedly hoarding arms, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's office said Thursday.

The officers, who have not been identified, were held after raids on their homes by fellow security police on New Year's Eve, according to the minister of state in the prime minister's office, Emmerson Mnangagwa, who is in charge of the security police.

In a New Year's address, Mr. Mugabe vowed to purge the armed forces and police of anti-government "subversive elements." The security forces in the last quarter of 1981 detained under emergency powers regulations at least eight whites for allegedly spying for neighboring white-ruled South Africa and plotting to overthrow the government.

### Saudis and Chinese Said to Arm PLO

*The Associated Press*

SHARJAH, United Arab Emirates — A Palestinian leader said Thursday that Saudi Arabia and China were the main suppliers of arms for the Palestinian guerrillas.

Khaled al-Hassan, a member of the Central Committee of el-Fatah, the Palestine Liberation Organization's largest group, made the statement in an interview with the Sharjah-based newspaper Al Khaleej.

Mr. Hassan made no reference to the Soviet Union, which is widely believed to be the principal source of arms for the Palestinians.

### Reagan Delays a Decision on Taxes

*Reuters*

WASHINGTON — President Reagan is giving himself more time to reach decisions on budget and tax policy, David R. Gergen, the White House communications director, said Thursday.

Mr. Gergen said the decisions for the fiscal year beginning this October could be made as late as Jan. 26, when the president plans to deliver his State of the Union address. The budget is scheduled to go to Congress on Feb. 8.

Mr. Gergen also said the president had barred administration officials from making public statements about budget and tax policy pending completion of the budget for fiscal 1983.

On Wednesday, Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan said he thought there would be tax increases in 1983 and 1984 in order to hold down federal deficits, which are running at more than \$100 billion a year.

On Thursday, Norman Ture, undersecretary of the Treasury for tax and economic affairs, said that while the president remained committed to the basic tax cut program implemented last year, there would likely be some tax increases — "minor adjustments" to cope with the budget deficit.

### Iraqi Oil Pipeline Blasted in Turkey

*United Press International*

ANKARA — A pipeline carrying Iraqi crude oil across Turkey to the Mediterranean has been blown up, the second act of sabotage against Iraqi oil lines in four days, authorities said Thursday.

The latest explosion, early Wednesday, damaged the pipeline in the Silopi-Idil region of Mardin province near the Iraqi border. On Sunday, an explosion damaged a pipeline carrying crude from Iraq across Syria to the Lebanese coast. A leftist guerrilla group calling itself the Iraqi Mujahidin Movement later claimed responsibility for the blast.

The two explosions were severe blows to Iraq's efforts to boost exports of crude to help finance its 15-month-old war against Iran. From nearly 3.5 million barrels a day before the war started, Iraq's exports are now down to as little as 600,000 daily.

### U.S. Analysts Say Russia Adds to Afghan Force

*New York Times Service*

WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union has begun moving more troops into Afghanistan, U.S. military analysts say.

About 10,000 soldiers from the region just north of Afghanistan had moved over the border in recent weeks, two years after the first intervention occurred in 1979, the analysts said Wednesday.

That has brought the total number of Soviet military people in Afghanistan to about 95,000, they said. Reports about a week ago from Western diplomats in Kabul that Soviet forces in Afghanistan numbered 110,000 to 120,000 were overstated, they added.

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troops had been sent to reinforce the occupying army because the occupying army was bogged down in a stalemate with Afghan insurgents.

## Jeans and Pepsi Signs Spoil Rebellious Image Of Nicaraguan Capital

By Warren Hoge  
New York Times Service

MANAGUA — No stranger to invasions in recent years, Managua today is being occupied by a fresh-faced army of backpacking youths in shorts and hiking boots. They are leftist students on holiday from Europe, here to see the revolution firsthand.

That is not easy to do in Managua, which is one of the world's strangest looking cities. The central area was not rebuilt after being leveled by a 1972 earthquake that killed 10,000 residents, and the desolate area of weed-covered lots is relieved only by the shells of crumbled buildings and by park areas and ceremonial plazas constructed by the Sandinistas.

Oak saplings have been planted along thoroughfares in a project that planners say will eventually lower the punishing daytime temperature by 15 degrees Fahrenheit. Former bank buildings that withstood the temblor house offices of the aptly named Government of National Reconstruction. The second floor is filled with men and women working at drafting easels.

There is revolutionary fervor to be seen in Nicaragua, but it tends to become dissipated in the bleak spaces of Managua.

Portraits of the movement's namesake, Augusto Cesar Sandino, break pattern with those of hot-eyed rebel heroes. He is pictured slouching, in high boots with the laces loose at the top, bloused trousers, a broad-brimmed hat and a bow tie or foulard rakishly flowing from his collar. It could be a photograph of a foudly remembered eccentric uncle.

Hughes Hideaway

Presiding imperially over the wasteland of what was Managua is the hilltop Inter-Continental Hotel, whose top-floor suites were once the hideaway home of Howard Hughes. It has now become a gathering spot for the visiting European students.

"They spend every morning eating enormous breakfasts there and then they return home and complain that the revolution is too bourgeois for having such a place," said Willi Germund, a German writer who lives here.

These well-fed young skeptics are right. Revolutionary Nicaragua does not fulfill the hopes of those outsiders who have, for various reasons, sought to portray it as a politically committed state.

A cartoon on the Sandinista Television System showing people being chewed up and spit out by the fearsome gears and cranks of a factory marked "capitalism" is followed by a frolicsome advertisement showing bow palmy life is when accompanied by Pepsi-Cola.

A banner at Augusto Cesar Sandino Airport proclaims: "You don't talk about sovereignty. You defend it with arms at the ready" shares the same wall space with a

plastic sign welcoming new arrivals to "Nicaragua, Another Diners' Club Country."

Let your eye descend from the fist of a Sandinista Youth militant pummeling the air in anger over "yanqui" imperialists to the inevitable blue jeans and you will often encounter the stitched name of Gloria Vanderbilt or Calvin Klein.

The contradictions of life in Nicaragua get a robust airing each day in the three newspapers — Barricada, the official Sandinista publication; Nuevo Diario, a journal that generally supports the government; and La Prensa, the daily that relentlessly attacks it.

In addition, government leaders appear every Friday night at public complaint sessions that are taped and shown on television. The criticisms are often blunt, and the Sandinista officials confess errors. The governing junta has issued a New Year's resolution publicly apologizing for not having met 1981 production goals.

Frequent Punishment

La Prensa has sung the Sandinista leaders so deeply that they have shut it down temporarily on five occasions, but when, as at present, the government harassment subsidies, the editorial competition is as vigorous as anywhere in the region.

Barricada and Nuevo Diario devote several front-page articles each day to rebuking La Prensa, and La Prensa gives equal attention to what it considers the deviations of its competitors.

La Prensa's vigilance against creeping statism is such that it waged a campaign against a government demand that motorcyclists wear protective helmets on the basis that it represented authoritarian encroachment on individual liberties.

Barricada and Nuevo Diario halted the imposition of martial law in Poland as "the salvation" of that country and ran articles depicting Lech Walessa as a no-account worker who was always being dismissed from jobs until he finally obtained full-time employment with the Central Intelligence Agency.

La Prensa retaliated by publishing purloined instructions to Barricada and other official organs from the Sandinistas' Department of Propaganda and Political Education on the correct approach to handling "the delicate social situation in which our Polish brothers find themselves."

The memorandum said that only facts confirmed by Soviet or Cuban press agencies should be printed and not those "transmitted by international news agencies controlled by imperialism," and that emphasis should be placed on "positive aspects like the re-establishment of stability, tranquility and order."

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## Egos and U.S. Security

Richard V. Allen, President Reagan's first national security adviser, ended up being cleared of the allegations of improper behavior that had swirled about him. In the highly politicized atmosphere in which those allegations arose, however, he became vulnerable to power struggles and personal rivalries inside the administration and to complaints that, essentially, he was not good enough at his job. Whether the complaints would have had so much force if the rivalries had not is unclear. In any event — and this much is clear — he became first a bother to some of the president's men and then an embarrassment to the president. So, reasonably graciously, he was let go.

His replacement, Deputy Secretary of State William P. Clark, has worked only a year in foreign affairs, against the 20-plus of his predecessor. Mr. Clark, however, enjoys an unusual measure of personal weightiness, based at once on his California connection to Mr. Reagan and on his calculated, no-nonsense, confidence-building service in the State Department. No hint of a policy change is detectable in the appointment.

But there is something else. The experience of a year has proved the inadequacy of the original Reagan national security system.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

Under that system, the post of national security adviser, which had previously been filled by influential figures, was downgraded. Typically, Mr. Allen had no direct access to the president and had to work through the "big three" of the White House staff, principally counselor Edwin Meese 3d. Mr. Clark takes up his new duties with assurances that the position will be restored to its earlier status and, specifically, that he will have his own access to the president.

It was a bad idea to have kept Mr. Allen at such a remove from the president. It was a bad idea to have Mr. Meese, who had no experience at all in foreign affairs and who has a great many other responsibilities, controlling the president's national security exposure. The new system would seem to correct those particular flaws. But whether it will result in better-assembled and executed policy has to await the test of further experience. Lines on a chart mean something. Personalities, egos can mean more. No system by itself can assure that a president will put to good use all the information, insights and connections that are essential to a sound foreign policy. The spotlight inevitably swings back to Mr. Reagan.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Best Wishes for Cities

You can afford to regard the Reagan administration's plan for enterprise zones with profound detachment. It won't cost much, because it won't do much. As the administration cuts renewal and welfare funds, the cities bitterly charge it with a heartless disregard of their troubles. The administration feels it need to respond, and that's why it now puts forward — in principle, with details to come later — the enterprise zone.

The idea is to provide an irresistible array of federal tax exemptions and credits to employers who locate plants in the blighted urban neighborhoods that are to be the designated zones. One proposal, for example, is to offer the employer a tax credit of perhaps \$1,500 a year for each worker. You may recall that the Carter administration provided a substantially larger amount in what it called the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit; last spring the Reagan administration denounced that credit, with justification, as ineffectual. The enterprise zone would also give the employer special tax credits for investment in plant and equipment, but the new tax law already has investors awash with special breaks and benefits.

Local governments have had a lot of expe-

rience over the years with tax breaks as bait for industrial development. On the whole, it has not been happy experience. Companies — especially strong companies capable of providing stable and well-paid jobs — do not generally give a high priority to tax inducements when they locate their plants. Typically the first consideration is the quality of the labor supply. The general character of the surroundings usually counts heavily.

Or, to put it the other way, there are usually substantial reasons why blighted neighborhoods stay blighted. They are expensive and unattractive places in which to carry on businesses. Cities have also had a lot of experience with renewal. It's possible, as hundreds of projects have demonstrated, but it's extremely expensive and, in all but the rarest of circumstances, requires direct federal subsidies. The tax breaks offered by the enterprise zones are very modest in comparison with the costs of urban redevelopment.

The enterprise zone proposal is a get-well-soon card from the White House to rundown and hard-pressed cities. It assures them of much sympathy and concern. But there's no mention of anything more tangible.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Equitable Tax Gimmick

"This is a sick piece of legislation. The sooner they kill it the better." That is one security analyst's view of new tax provisions that permit a company to sell unused tax benefits to the highest bidder. The sentiment is shared by many in Congress, who see repeal of the controversial reform as a good way to generate badly needed revenues.

Last summer's reduction in business taxes may indeed be too generous, securing too little supply-side bang for each lost revenue buck. But the lease-a-tax-break is not the problem. On the contrary. By making it possible to sell unusable benefits, the leasing deals reduce potentially large inequities in the corporate income tax.

One reason for cutting taxes was to induce more investment. That could have been managed in any number of ways, including the ingenious system devised by Dale Jorgenson, a Harvard economist, which would have neutralized the effect of inflation on tax rates. But President Reagan and Congress followed business lobbyists in supporting a more traditional approach. They expanded the benefits from the investment tax credit and liberalized the rules for accelerated depreciation.

Tax credits and depreciation allowances are not refundable in cash from the Treasury; they can only be used to offset tax liability. Thus companies that owe little or nothing in taxes are unable to use such benefits. And it was to "even out the playing field" that Congress made it possible to sell unusable benefits through lease-back agreements.

Let's say Company X buys a \$100,000 machine, entitling it to an immediate \$10,000 tax credit, plus future tax shelter through rapid depreciation write-offs. If Company X cannot use those benefits, it may sell the machine to Company Y and lease it back on

favorable terms. Company X gets the machine. Company Y, the nominal owner, gets the tax break.

One complaint now heard is that the provision encourages sham transactions — paper shuffles should not be altering tax liability. Making the tax benefits refundable in cash would certainly have been easier. But direct Treasury subsidies were not possible politically. So to provide equal incentives to companies with unequal tax benefits, Congress provided the lease-back option.

A more pragmatic objection focuses on this point: Why subsidize losers? If Chrysler isn't profitable now, why encourage it to toss good money after bad? One answer is that past performance is an uncertain predictor of future profit. Given an equal incentive to invest, Chrysler may well become an efficient producer. Second, it is difficult to make a legal distinction between companies that are unprofitable because they are chronically "losers," and "winners" that have not yet become profitable.

The real problem is not with tax-leasing as such, but with tax incentives so generous that too many companies have excess tax benefits to sell. No one knows how much the new tax law is worth to corporate America; that depends on how rapidly the economy grows. But by some plausible estimates, corporations with average rates of profit and investment may end up paying no taxes at all.

That is not necessarily a terrible thing. Competition makes it likely that most of the tax break will be passed through to consumers in lower prices. But it may well be necessary to increase tax revenues next year to restrain inflation. One might well ask business to shoulder part of the burden.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Opinion

### Reagan's Russian Methods

Latin America shows: In "his" area of influence, President Reagan uses methods that are similar to those used by his colleague Brezhnev in Eastern Europe: He resists changes and tries, with the aid of allies, to prevent these by interventions. He who legit-

mately denounces Soviet violations of human rights in Afghanistan and Poland, who is opposed to the toleration of undesired regimes, must not permit that comparable injustices in the Western Hemisphere are glossed over or tolerated. Ronald Reagan does both.

— From the *Basler Zeitung* (Basel).

### Jan. 8: From Our Pages of 75 and 50 Years Ago

#### 1907: Wireless Telegraph

WASHINGTON — The practical result of the Herald's fight for intercommunication between wireless telegraph systems came today, with the bidding of the Marconi Company for two sets of apparatus to be installed on the battleships Kansas and Vermont. The Marconi Company had previously refused to sell sets to the Navy, but the Herald's exposure of Marconi's refusal to communicate with the Lebanon when the latter was searching for a dangerous derelict and the State Department's insistence on intercommunication reversed its stand. It is believed that by this concession the Marconi Company hastens the day of universal communication.

#### 1932: Trotsky Anti-Hitler

BERLIN — Violently attacking the methods of German Communists in an essay published today in Germany, Leon Trotsky, who was exiled to Turkey three years ago, appeared as a left-handed friend of current German Socialism and an implacable foe to Hitlerism. Entitled "How National Socialism May Be Defeated," the work warns that unless the German Communists and Socialists get together, Hitler's brand of Fascism will win and ruin all other schemes, Communist, Socialist or what-have-you. Trotsky says that he is strongly opposed to Socialism, but that differences with that party should be temporarily forgotten in the urgent task of smothering Fascism.



## Poland: The Legacy of Yalta

By William Pfaff

PARIS — "This war is not as in the past. Whoever occupies a territory also imposes on it his own social system. Everyone imposes his own system as far as his army can reach," Stalin said to Tito in April, 1945. It explains why Europe has been divided ever since. It is the reason the Soviet Union resists so violently when "Yalta" is challenged — "Yalta" being shorthand for Europe's division.

French President Francois Mitterrand said in his New Year's message, "Anything which would permit us to escape from Yalta would be good, on condition that we never confuse our wishes with the reality of the present day." For that, he got a jeering response from the Soviet press — suggesting, in its very violence, unmeasurably that President Mitterrand's chasmus out of the fire.

It was another three years before the United States began seriously to contest what the Soviet Union was doing in Eastern Europe. By then it was much too late. Moscow was not only in possession, but the non-Communist forces in the area had been maimed, their leaders sent to camps, or in exile, or dead. The West eventually conceded the contest by allowing the East Berlin rising of 1953 and the Hungarian revolution of 1956 to be crushed. Nothing has changed since then in Western policy. The sanctions that President Reagan imposed upon Russia and Poland in December are, regrettably, empty gestures, changing nothing.

The future choice is simple. Either "Yalta" is reversed, or the West goes on practicing an effective complicity in Europe's division, tolerating the dictatorships that exist in the East, and the consequent dangers. There are two ways by which Yalta might be undone: the peaceful way, and by war. It obviously will not be done by war, short of some immense catastrophe brought about against the will of the West.

That leaves the peaceful way — to convince the Soviet Union that its occupation of Eastern Europe produces insecurity and trouble for Russia, and that a better solution can be found. Stalin himself described that solution to Churchill at Yalta. He said that Poland in the past had been the corridor through which Russia's enemies repeatedly had attacked her. The corridor had to be closed, Stalin said, by Poland, "of her own strength." For that reason, he went on, "Poland must be free, independent, and powerful."

If only Stalin had believed in the plain meaning of his own words, the Soviet Union's western borders today would be secure, not insecure. Poland would be at peace with itself. Yalta would be a term of approbation rather than of reproach. Stalin's successors must have this said to them by the Western governments, and repeated again and again. The safety of both East and West depend upon a European security system that rests upon consent. Without consent, nothing is settled, nothing is final, nothing secure.

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By George F. Kennan

George F. Kennan, historian and former ambassador to the Soviet Union, is professor emeritus at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University. He wrote this article for The New York Times.

PRINCETON, N.J. — The sanctions imposed on the Soviet Union by the Reagan administration are, unfortunately, marked by an extreme vagueness about what the Soviet regime is expected to do to bring about their removal.

One is reluctant to believe that what is wanted is that Moscow should order the government in Warsaw to undo what has been done since Dec. 3 and to restore the old autonomy, because such assertion of authority by Moscow over Warsaw is precisely what we professed to deplore.

One can only assume that what is wanted is that the Soviet government should take a detached attitude toward events in Poland and permit the situation there to find its own level, whatever the consequences for Poland's form of government or that country's international position.

This, however, would be a drastic decision. It would reach to the very foundation of the de facto division of Europe that has existed since World War II. This division itself was a product of the war.

It was Nazi military success that first destroyed the prewar status quo of Eastern Europe. Then it was the Nazis' military failure that, to the applause of the Western Allies, drew Soviet military and political power into the resulting vacuum and established it there, where it has remained ever since. And it was the memory of the grievous injury done the Soviet Union by the Germans while they were fighting in that country that caused the So-

viet regime to consider it vital to its security to retain ultimate control over at least the eastern third of Germany and all intervening territory to ensure that Russia would not again be confronted by a resurgent and united Germany, possibly allied — this time — with the United States.

This, in essence, was the origin of the Soviet Union's interest in Poland as we have known it over these past 35 years.

To date, the Soviet Union has not intervened with its own military forces. It was not the unending series of high-level warnings from Washington that motivated this restraint.

One may assume that the only development that could drive the Russians to so drastic a step would be further degeneration of the Polish situation to a point where they saw their entire military and political hegemony in Eastern and Central Europe, including eastern Germany, being undermined, to the great detriment of their prestige and possibly of the internal stability of the Soviet Union itself. If they saw this happening, there is no telling what they would do.

If we really wanted to avert these and other dangers of an overextended Soviet influence in the Polish political scene, then we must be willing to address ourselves to the Kremlin's basic strategic stake in the Eastern and Central European region. To do this, we would have to be prepared to re-examine the very terms on which the division of the Continent has operated over the past 35 years.

This would mean, at the outset, soundings and discussions to ascertain just what assurances Moscow would require and what safeguards would have to be provided to compensate for the loss of

security that such a change of Soviet policy would signify.

We would then have to explore, together with our North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies, the possibility for meeting these requirements. To be sure, it is unlikely that anything could bring Moscow to a point where it would disclaim all security interest in the state of affairs prevailing in Poland.

But a certain relaxation of its demands, and with it, a certain relaxation of existing tension, might be achieved if something could be done to give assurance that anything of this sort would not be taken advantage of by the NATO powers, to the detriment of the Soviet strategic position.

The U.S. government cannot be unaware of this aspect of the problem, but to date its official pronouncements and actions seem to have taken no account of it. Is it not high time that this omission be corrected? Otherwise, we run the danger, and it is a serious one — of driving the Soviet leadership to desperation by pressing it mercilessly against a closed door.

There were no through car-

## Some Signs of Hope For Indian Economy

By Jonathan Power

NEW DELHI — India has approximately the same population as the continents of Africa and South America combined. If the Indian economy can be sorted out, then the whole complexion of the developing world will be changed. If India — the world's 15th poorest country and the second most populated — progresses, the Third World will change its spots. And that, in fact, looks as if it might be happening.

The emphasis must still be on the might. India has had short periods of rapid economic progress before, only to run itself into the hands of bureaucracy, inefficiency and protectionism. Moreover, like so many developing countries, while weathering the first world oil price rise in 1974, it has found the second one that followed on the heels of the Iranian revolution much more difficult to swallow.

Not only has it a very serious balance of payments problem that its new-found self-sufficiency in food makes hardly a dent in, but markets in the industrialized world are contracting just when India is mentally preparing to engage in a major export drive.

### Watersheds

If the "might be" becomes "is" and India does begin its economic takeoff, historians looking back will probably mark two watersheds.

One will be the massive \$5.7-billion loan from the International Monetary Fund that was approved toward the end of last year.

The second will be the growing success of the Green Revolution, which made it possible for India to get away without importing grain even when the monsoon failed in 1979-80.

India's agriculture has been steadily improving for 30 years.

During the last 50 years of the British Raj, food production increased by only 0.3 percent a year, but since 1950 it has increased at 3 percent a year. At first the increase came from putting more land under the plow. Since the mid-1960s it has come from higher productivity, not least the Green Revolution.

The use of new seeds together with large doses of irrigation, fertilizer and pesticides.

The majority of observers feel that India's agricultural progress is here to stay, although at the moment its dramatic leap forward is confined principally to one small state, Punjab. The rest of India has been slow to imitate Punjab, although there are healthy signs that the continuous priority that the government has paid to agricultural research and education is beginning to pay off. Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Orissa, all highly populated states, are beginning to follow Punjab's example.

The social problems that the Green Revolution brought appear to be falling into place. At first it was the wealthier and better educated farmers who adopted the new technology. They began to buy out or push aside the small

riagers, and no officials to quiet painfully loud songs in a restricted space. The boat reached Dunkirk at 3 a.m. French time. A train appeared after a wait of about half an hour, but did not leave till 5 a.m. Exhausted travelers finally reached Paris at 9:45.

In the name of what economy is this hideous inconvenience inflicted upon those who could formerly enter a railway carriage in London and leave it in Paris, or vice versa? They can still do this between Paris and Stockholm, with three separate ferry crossings. And why does this journey take 12 hours, via Calais or Boulogne?

ROSALIND MAZZAWL Paris.

### New Management

It is worth pausing to take note that the United Nations enters 1982 under new management. The election of Javier Perez de Cuellar of Peru as secretary-general, breaking the deadlock vote, provides encouraging evidence that the international community was not disposed to allow the UN to remainudderless.

Can it be that, having scraped rock bottom, the UN under fresh leadership will now begin the long haul upward? Let us make that assumption and accelerate the process by reaffirming our faith in the organization.

JULIAN BEHRSTOCK Paris.

### Polish Connection?

Philip Geyelin, in "Experts' opinions for Poland," (Grim, Grinner or Grimm) (IHT Dec. 22) states: "It is Petrov's view that Solidarity has been disintegrating all through the slow takeover of militants who were forcing Waleska's hand."

It is not possible that the so-called "militants" had a rather stronger connection to the government than either Solidarity or Waleska might imagine?

DAVID NORRIS-SMITH Coburg, West Germany.

## INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

# China Looks to New Enterprises to Ease Unemployment Among Urban Youths

By Christopher S. Wren  
New York Times Service

SHANGHAI — If there is enough for her to do, Sun Fang goes each weekday to a small backroom workshop to sit with other young women around a cramped table assembling plastic toy automobiles under the harsh glare of a fluorescent light.

The pay of \$35 a month is decent by Chinese standards. But the work is tedious and, worse, it is temporary for Miss Sun, a 23-year-old who has been unable to find a permanent job since leaving school in 1976.

Miss Sun was supposed to join more than 1 million other young people from Shanghai who were sent to work in the countryside during the Cultural Revolution, but her parents did not want her to go. Those young people who were allowed to return got first priority in employment. Now the emphasis has shifted to those who have left school since 1976, so Miss Sun has been overlooked.

"Whether she gets something depends on the future of her country," said Zhang Minhang, an official of the neighborhood committee of Yuyuan, where Miss Sun's family lives.

The youth employment problems of Yuyuan, a densely populated neighborhood in cen-

tral Shanghai, are typical of those in most Chinese cities today. According to the Liberation Daily newspaper, Shanghai, China's largest city with an estimated population of at least 10 million, has found jobs for nearly 1.2 million young people in the past five years.

But even with its work force swollen to about 4.5 million, Shanghai still has an estimated 150,000 young people waiting for employment.

Although the government in Peking has reported that 29 million Chinese have found jobs since 1977, providing work for everyone has proved virtually impossible. Last month, in a major change of policy, the government issued a directive advising the people that it no longer guaranteed them a job and encouraging more of them to create private businesses.

But most young Chinese have grown up anticipating the security of a state or collective job where they would receive a living wage no matter how poorly or erratically they performed. The prospect of finding for themselves without tenure, medical insurance or an eventual pension is frightening, not least because private enterprise was still officially disparaged a few years ago as "the tail of capitalism."

"Today among young people, there is a mistaken notion that a job in a state or collective

enterprise is like having an iron rice bowl," said Mr. Zhang. "They still prefer this, so it is a hard situation for the neighborhood committee to resolve. Young people like Miss Sun do not consider that they have a job if they don't have the iron rice bowl."

Miss Sun said, "Of course I would like to work in the older enterprises, but it isn't possible."

China's universities and higher technical schools can accommodate only 1 in 25 young Chinese people, so the rest are thrown into the job market once they leave school. Economic planners tend to feel that there will never be enough work for them unless more new kinds of jobs are created.

## Advantages Cited

The government's drive to orient economic production away from conventional heavy industry and toward light industry is intended to raise living standards by providing more and better consumer goods, but it could also improve urban job prospects, according to some economists.

The People's Daily newspaper estimated last month that for every 1 million yuan (about \$580,000) in fixed assets, a light industrial enterprise could absorb 257 workers, while a heavy industrial one could absorb only 94.

Commercial and service trades, which are comparatively underused in China, could accommodate 800 to 1,000 workers for every 1 million yuan invested, People's Daily reported.

China's urban employment problems were exacerbated by the chaos of the Cultural Revolution, when 1.1 million youths from Shanghai alone were sent off to work in rural areas. About 415,000 of these were officially allowed to return to Shanghai, according to Mr. Zhang. Because they were older and more militant, the municipality tried to placate them by offering them the first jobs that became available.

Even so, Shanghai, like other Chinese cities, has experienced a rise in crime and other restiveness often attributed to the frustrations of unemployment. Thousands of Shanghai youths who came home illegally from the countryside were persuaded to return to the remote provinces of Xinjiang in the west and Heilongjiang in the northeast after Shanghai authorities denied them housing and food coupons as well as jobs. Others are believed to be still hiding in the city, unwilling to go back to the harsher rural life.

The employment situation in Yuyuan, a neighborhood with 12,000 households, was described by Mr. Zhang as "about average" for Shanghai. Since 1978, he said, 2,687 of 3,000 jobless young people — including 1,531 al-

lowed back from the countryside — have found work. Of those who are employed by state and collectively run enterprises, 283 inherited blue-collar jobs from their retiring parents, a common practice in China.

## Local Effort

The neighborhood committee, which is the lowest unit of local government, has set up garment workshops to provide employment for 40 young people. Others have found temporary jobs assembling toys or making paper bags for fruit.

Five neighborhood youths have opened their own businesses, such as bicycle repairing and tailoring. Last October, Shanghai's deputy mayor, Pei Xianhai, urged that more unemployed young people start businesses to provide services that the city needed. Mr. Pei promised that the city would help work out voluntary plans for welfare insurance and pensions. The Chinese news agency said that there were now 12,800 private businessmen in Shanghai — far fewer than the 100,000 in 1957 — but that only 4 percent of them were young people.

School leavers generally spend at least a year before finding work, and even with a temporary job the wait can be discouraging. Ling Liande, who finished high school in 1980, said

that he earned about \$23 a month by rising at 5 a.m. to deliver newspapers for three hours a practice every day, because I want to get a job in which my calligraphy is used."

One factor daunting young Chinese is that once they get a steady job they are normally not allowed to change if they do not like it. Mr. Zhang cited the case of a neighborhood youth who decided to become a street cleaner but changed his mind when the post was offered to him. The young man had to wait another two years before his father retired and passed on his own job.

## Local Output Increases

SHANGHAI (Reuters) — Shanghai accounted for nearly 13 percent of national production and more than a quarter of the country's exports last year, the Chinese news agency reported.

Industrial output rose 3.2 percent to 64.7 billion yuan (\$37 billion), exceeding the official target of 3 percent, while exports rose 15 percent to 2.5 billion yuan.

Shanghai's revenues rose 3.1 percent to about \$10 billion, a major portion of the country's total income, the agency said.

## France Sets Guidelines For Prices

Reuters

PARIS — The government has launched a program of price guidelines for retail goods and services to help persuade unions to accept lower wage settlements and break the inflationary race between prices and salaries.

"Certain details of Gen. Dozier's career were known only by him. Therefore, there shouldn't be any doubts about the authenticity of the document," the NATO spokesman, Col. Luciano dal Cegio, said.

Police said that they had

searched for the general's body in a remote area of central Italy

Wednesday night after a receiving

a series of anonymous calls claiming

that it had been dumped there.

They said that the claims appeared

to be aimed at throwing off the

track.

"Do you know what the Red

Brigades are?" was the first question asked of Gen. Dozier according to the transcript.

"Yes, a guerrilla group. But before my capture, I thought they were just an Italian problem. Now I understand that it's different," was his purported reply.

The terrorist interrogator explained at length to the general, who is deputy chief of staff for logistics and administration at the Verona NATO headquarters, why he had been selected as a target.

"Through you, we place on trial

the structure of military occupation

NATO, and America's imperialist policy toward the Italian

proletariat," he said, according to the transcript.

In another passage of the alleged interrogation, Gen. Dozier

confirmed that U.S. officers had

been warned of possible terrorist

attacks against them in Italy.

The general's captors warned

that they would "take note" that he continued to defend imperialism, hinting that their "trial" would end in a guilty verdict.

"For us, his collaboration [in the

alleged interrogation] is not 'repentance,' but the result of a changed power-relationship," the document said.

The communiqué left in Rome

was found after a telephone tip-off

to a newspaper by a caller who

claimed that the Red Brigades had

wounded the deputy chief of

Rome's anti-terrorist squad earlier

Wednesday.

Nicola Simone, 41, was wounded

when he opened the door of his

apartment. Doctors said his condition

was satisfactory and he

was out of immediate danger.

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## Constitution Writers In Turkey Debating Presidential Powers

By Marvin Howe  
New York Times Service

ANKARA — A consultative assembly that is working on a constitution for Turkey is reported to be debating how powerful the president should be.

Sources close to the assembly say there is agreement on having a parliament. At issue, they say, is whether the president should be a strong one, on the French model, or should have only somewhat greater powers than the largely figurehead one Turkey had before the military coup of Sept. 12, 1980.

The military rulers of the National Security Council, however, will have the final say on the constitution before it is submitted to a referendum. Military leaders and some businessmen are reported to favor a strong presidency selected by direct popular election in a two-party political system.

Gen. Kenan Evren, the military head of state, announced in his New Year's message that the timetable for the return to democracy depended on how quickly the assembly completed its work. If a draft constitution were ready by the end of the summer, he said, an election could be held by the spring of 1983.

The chairman of the assembly's Constitutional Commission, Orhan Aldikacti, said he did not know when the constitution would be ready but pledged that his group would work "as fast as humanly possible."

Intellectuals Voice Concern

Meanwhile, intellectuals are expressing their concern over major legislation being drafted by the military government.

A professor said the other day that in most countries a constitution comes first and laws are then passed in accordance with it. But, he said, Turkey seems "to be witnessing the reverse."

The military has adopted laws changing the university system and revising the appointment of judges, and the commission apparently will have to consider those measures in drafting the constitution.

This week, Minister of Justice Cevdet Mentes announced that laws increasing penalties for crimes against the state had been submitted to the consultative as-



DOLPHINS STRANDED — About 150 dolphins beached themselves on the Japanese island of Kyushu. Although volunteers pushed many back into the sea, high waves Thursday returned most of the weakened animals to the beach. Authorities said 122 dolphins died.

## Father of Missing Man Again Accuses Marcos

New York Times Service

MANILA — The mystery surrounding the disappearance of a prominent athlete, after dining with a daughter of Ferdinand Ferdinand E. Marcos has entered its second week, with the father of the missing man again accusing the Philippine leader of involvement.

Ricardo Manotoc, a Manila real estate agent, has repeated charges that his 32-year-old son, Tommy, was "possibly being held captive" for having secretly married Imee Marcos, 26, in the United States in December, after divorcing his first wife in the Dominican Republic in October.

The father's charge, made in an interview on Tuesday, followed a statement by Mr. Marcos over the weekend that Tommy Manotoc has entered its second week, with the father of the missing man again accusing the Philippine leader of involvement.

His parents immediately blamed the Manotoc family for the disappearance, saying the president and his wife had opposed the marriage of their daughter, a former Princeton University student, to Tommy Manotoc in a civil ceremony at Arlington, Va., on Dec. 4. The marriage records there show that he obtained a divorce from his first wife in the Dominican Republic on Oct. 27.

The initial statements by the

Manotoc family were denied on Jan. 1 by a presidential spokesman who said there had been no marriage, no opposition by Mr. and Mrs. Marcos to the couple's relationship and no government involvement in Mr. Manotoc's disappearance.

Government investigators subsequently charged in statements to local reporters that the disappearance could be a plot to embarrass the Marcos government.

They said the missing man's mother was related through marriage to two Philippine opposition leaders now in the United States.

The exiles are Raul S. Manglapus, a former foreign minister who heads the Movement for a Free Philippines, and Eugenio Lopez Jr., a former newspaper publisher who had been accused of plotting to assassinate Mr. Marcos.

Since Tommy Manotoc disappeared, his family has received one note and two telephone calls from persons identifying themselves as the kidnappers. The second call came Tuesday, and Ricardo Manotoc said that like the other

communications, it appeared to be a hoax.

He said the caller spoke in Tagalog, the national language, and said only that a second ransom note was coming. The first note, also in Tagalog, came last Saturday, he said, and was supposed to have been written by his missing son.

Ricardo Manotoc said Tommy always wrote only in English or Spanish, which are also widely spoken in the Philippines.

In addition, the father said, the signature was clearly a fake.

In supporting his charges of presidential involvement in the disappearance, Mr. Manotoc said the government mentioned the first note in a statement issued on Saturday, hours before the communication was received.

According to the Manotocs, the president and later Imee Marcos had requested that they not talk to anyone about the disappearance. The family members said they had compiled initially but decided after two days that their silence was not helping.

The government is Socialist only in name," he said in an interview. "We have turned our backs on Socialist since 1962." He denounced Senegal's "neo-colonial" situation and called for the withdrawal of French troops.

The influence of the remaining parties is viewed by diplomats and politicians as minimal.

While most of the parties are in agreement on many issues, they are divided mostly by "personal quarrels," according to a French diplomat. However, they all see the need for an alliance. "If the opposition wants to have an impact, it will be obliged to constitute a bloc to face the ruling party," said Mr. N'Diaye.

Nationalistic Party

Another party, the highly nationalistic Rassemblement National Démocratique, has called for a complete change in the country's economic structure, which it says is dominated by France. However, there is some speculation that a wing of the party may join the Socialist Party if it feels it is moving in the right direction.

The Mouvement Démocratique Populaire, which believes in Socialist self-management based on the traditional African sense of community, is headed by Mamadou Dia. Mr. Dia, Mr. Senghor's vice president during Senegal's first two years of independence. Accused of involvement in a plot to overthrow Mr. Senghor in 1962, he was imprisoned for 12 years.

The government is



## U.S. Unions at Critical Juncture

By William Scriven  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — U.S. labor unions are heading into negotiations on contracts — estimated to cover 4.5 million workers — against a backdrop of high unemployment, continuing recession and wide industry demands for labor cost concessions.

Concessions are occurring not only in the automobile and trucking industries but also in steel, rubber, airlines, rail transportation and other industries. Experts expect concessions to bring a transfer of millions of dollars from employees to employers, a situation that has not occurred since labor-management contract bargaining became a formalized institution in the 1930s and 1940s.

Harley Shaiken, a labor specialist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said the United States was seeing a change in the whole structure of collective bargaining.

## IBEW Contract

At the same time, a fundamental restructuring of the U.S. economy and its workplace is placing additional burdens on the labor movement. Employment in established industries is being reduced; new, nonunion jobs are being created and production is being sent abroad.

Labor's response to this tangle of demands, labor authorities say, may go far in determining the future power of the movement.

On Monday, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters resumed negotiations with truckers in Chicago, attempting to reach a new agreement covering 300,000 truck drivers. People involved on both sides of the talks have said they expect major union concessions, with truckers receiving only moderate wage increases.

Thursday night was the deadline for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union to reach a contract agreement covering 55,000 oil industry workers.

The union represents perhaps 50 to 60 percent of the work force of the petroleum industry. Without much wider representation in this highly automated industry, the union will find it difficult to extract large gains or to win a strike. The companies, as is the case in other industries with automated equipment and the use of supervisory workers, can easily continue much of their operations.

On Friday, General Motors and Ford councils of the United Automobile Workers will meet in Chicago to decide whether to reopen contracts with the two auto makers. Never in the union's history, which dates to the 1930s, have contracts been reopened to grant concessions to GM or Ford.

In addition, contracts are to be negotiated this year in the clothing, rubber, hospital, electrical, food processing, farm implement and agriculture industries.

But there are other problems as well. In December, the United Steelworkers of America lost an

important battle to organize workers at 14 plants, including large ones in the South owned by DuPont, a target of trade union organizers for decades.

In the fiscal year ended Sept. 30, 1980, according to the National Labor Relations Board, unions won just 43.7 percent of their organizational elections.

Moreover, President Reagan appears to have won widespread public support for his firm handling of the strike by air traffic controllers.

Many business people and some economists believe unions have exercised excessive power at the bargaining table and, by driving labor

costs up, have brought intolerable cost burdens to U.S. companies.

The unions reply the labor movement cannot be blamed for economic forces at work or management mistakes.

"I am often fascinated by the glib speculations on labor's future that enliven some journals," Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, said recently. He said there was a tendency "to see in labor's defeats evidence of labor's weaknesses rather than alarming signs of the growth of corporate power and increased employer resistance to unionism, signs which should trouble a democratic, pluralistic society."

"It is not only the labor movement that has a problem" in the decline of manufacturing jobs, he said. All of society "needs to be alerted to the dangers inherent in the erosion of the nation's industrial base."

Jack Goldiner, director of the AFL-CIO's public employee department, says almost all U.S. workers, except public sector engineers and scientists, have demonstrated that they believe in collective action to attack workplace problems. He predicts union or-



Lane Kirkland

ganization will rise, even among professional workers.

But labor experts, some in the labor movement and some who observe the movement from outside, wonder whether labor has the expertise and creativity to respond to the challenges it faces.

Robert Schrank, a specialist in work and labor issues who was formerly with the Ford Foundation, said the unions were "not bold, not creative."

"They are dreaming that everything will go back the way it was," he said. "But that is a dream. That never happens. It never will. That's nostalgia."

## Airline Pay Cut

LOS ANGELES (AP) — Western Airlines has reached tentative agreement on a 10-percent wage cut for pilots and flight attendants aimed at easing its struggle with millions of dollars in losses, the Los Angeles Times reported Thursday.

The Air Line Pilots Association agreed to the reduction that could save \$16.8 million a year, the Times said. Western's 1,850 flight attendants still must approve the wage cut tentatively approved by the Association of Flight Attendants and did not find any "concerns."

The banking officials said the 300-million-DM request was essentially to enable the Russians to make down payments on compressor stations and other equipment ordered last fall. The Russians agreed to make the down payments so the suppliers can buy materials and pay for services such as engineering.

That agreement was included in a package of credits the banks approved last July to finance the compressor stations and other equipment on the 3,300-mile pipeline, which is expected to begin delivering 1.3 trillion cubic feet of natural gas from Siberia to Western Europe in the mid-1980s.

According to the July agreement, financing of the steel pipe, of which roughly 3.5 million tons will be needed, was carried out of the overall financing package. Arrangements were made for the steel pipe purchases and their financing to be negotiated by the Russians and their Western and Japanese suppliers on a year-to-year basis.

**Mannesmann Talks**

A spokesman for Mannesmann, the major West German bidder, said Thursday that talks on the steel pipe purchases had begun.

The bank officials said that differences had emerged within the consortium financing the pipeline over how to treat the Soviet request.

Unresolved is the question of Poland's payment of about \$350 million in overdue interest owed Western banks in 1981, and there has been speculation that the new Soviet request might be with a view to aiding Warsaw in paying its debts.

Some bankers said this was unlikely because the requested credits involved essentially transfers from West German banks to Western European pipeline suppliers. Others disagreed, contending the loans would afford the Russians means of aiding Poland by easing the Soviet Union's own hard currency squeeze.

**Malaysia Oil Price Cut, Sources Say**

KUALA LUMPUR — Malaysia has joined the latest round of oil price cuts by shaving from 30 cents to one dollar a barrel off its crude prices under pressure from a persistent world glut, oil industry sources said Thursday.

Price cuts ranging from a few cents to around a dollar have been made in the last month by most OPEC members and such non-OPEC producers as Mexico, Norway and Britain.

The figures highlighted a picture of shrinking domestic demand with orders from abroad, up four percent in November, entirely responsible for the slight overall rise.

The 0.3-percent decline in gross national product — the total value of goods and services — followed growth of 1.8 percent in 1979.

Government advisers expect a return to one-percent growth this year but one of the country's five main independent economic research institutes has forecast that the recession will last through 1982.

The EEC said last month that the number of people out of work in the 10-nation community had risen to 10 million, or nine percent of the workforce, with West Germany showing the fastest rate of increase. And Mr. Stigl said recently that unemployment could soon top the two-million level if bad weather continued to depress the building sector.

The gloomy outlook will likely increase pressure from the trade unions on Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's Social Democratic Party for urgent government measures to boost the economy and create jobs.

Mr. Schmidt has said the government would consider moves to boost the economy and create jobs

when it reviews economic policy later this month. But his margin for maneuver appears slim since his Free Democratic coalition partners oppose programs raising taxes or state borrowing.

The West German Trade Union Federation had urged Bonn to spend an extra 50 billion Deutsche marks during the next five years on housing, energy-saving and the environment to create a million new jobs.

Norman B. Ture, undersecretary of the Treasury for Tax and Eco-

## U.S. Steel Takes Control of Marathon

From Agency Dispatches

NEW YORK — U.S. Steel Corp. took control of Marathon Oil Co. on Thursday following the rejection by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger of a last-ditch plea by Mobil to halt the takeover, the second most expensive in U.S. corporate history.

Mobil wanted Justice Burger to freeze the deal until the full Su-

preme Court considered Mihail's formal appeal of a lower court antitrust ruling that blocked its own \$6.5-billion bid for Marathon.

U.S. Steel announced that it had purchased 30 million Marathon shares, or 51 percent of Marathon's common stock, under the terms of \$6.15-billion takeover.

Because the steelmaker's cash offer attracted 21 million more Marathon shares than it wanted, U.S. Steel will buy about 58 of each 100 shares tendered. The rest will be accepted after a merger of the two companies, in exchange for U.S. Steel notes currently valued at about \$80 each.

U.S. Steel said Thursday that it planned to issue checks in payment to Marathon stockholders on Monday, and that shares not purchased for cash would be returned shortly afterward.

Even after Justice Burger on Wednesday turned down Mobil's appeal for an emergency restraining order, Mihail could have gone to other justices in order of seniority. However, Justice Burger said he had told other justices of his decision and did not find any "concerns."

The Air Line Pilots Association agreed to the reduction that could save \$16.8 million a year, the Times said. Western's 1,850 flight attendants still must approve the wage cut tentatively approved by the Association of Flight Attendants and did not find any "concerns."

First Boston Corp., which is

earning a fee of \$18 million for advising Marathon, was also an adviser to DuPont when the chemical giant last summer took over Conoco for \$7.6 billion in the stock market.

Analysts said the market was helped a bit late in the session by bargain busters and by investors replacing borrowed shares they sold earlier in hopes the market would slide.

Harvey Deutscher of Purcell Graham noted that the afternoon buying was "very selective," centering primarily on blue chip stocks and volume was low, which does not bode well for a rally in the market Friday.

He also said the late upturn may have been based on Wall Street projections of a drop in the weekly money supply figures, to be announced Friday.

An unexpected gain in the money supply figures announced Monday prompted a 25.78-point loss in the three sessions prior to Thursday. The rise fueled concerns that interest rates may turn higher.

Norman B. Ture, undersecretary of the Treasury for Tax and Eco-

large U.S. corporate takeover. Mobil was the losing suitor in that battle, as well, along with Seagram of Canada.

Mobil spokesman John Flint

said the company was studying Justice Burger's ruling and planned no public statement.

Despite its setback, Mobil may

not remain silent for long. It has

said that if it lost the fight to U.S. Steel, it might yet buy up to 25

percent of U.S. Steel stock as a

bargaining chip to try to loose

Marathon's U.S. oil reserves.

Under federal securities laws,

Mihail's 30-day waiting period be-

fore it can buy U.S. Steel stock ex-

pires Friday unless the Federal

Trade Commission requests fur-

ther data. If such a request is

made, Mihail must wait an addi-

tional 20 days from the time it sup-

plies the information.

Even so, Wall Street analysts ar-

gued that Mobil would face the

same antitrust problems in pur-

chasing a major block of U.S. Steel

as it did with Marathon.

Some oil industry analysts said

they believed that Mobil still want-

ed to test the government to see

how large a merger it would permit

within the oil industry and get a

definitive court ruling on such

mergers.

## Long and Costly

However, other analysts said

Mihail most likely will resume

what it was doing before it went after

Cocooco and Marathon — buying

reserve-rich oil companies, but not

the integrated giants.

The battle for Marathon was

long and costly for both all three

companies.

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## Stock Prices Close Mixed in Rally

From Agency Dispatches

NEW YORK — Prices on the New York Stock Exchange closed on a mixed note Thursday after some late strength pulled the market back from earlier lows.

After falling as much as six points at 861.78, the Dow Jones Industrial average recovered to close up 0.76 points at 861.78.

Declines led advances, around 790 to 650, and volume slipped to 43.41 million shares from 51.51 million Wednesday, indicating Wall Street's continuing concern with the prospects of high budget deficits, which could push up interest rates.

Prices were lower in moderate trading of American Stock Exchange issues.

Analysts said the market was

helped a bit late in the session by bargain busters and by investors replacing borrowed shares they sold earlier in hopes the market would slide.

Harvey Deutscher of Purcell Graham noted that the afternoon buying was "very selective," centering primarily on blue chip stocks and volume was low, which does not bode well for a rally in the market Friday.

Commenting on the swings in the dollar, a senior banker in Frankfurt said, "The market is confused. Nobody knows where interest rates are really moving, and the Fed [U.S. Federal Reserve Board] is not signaling a clear trend either."

The dollar achieved its most pronounced gain against the Swiss franc, which was weakened by indications that the Swiss National Bank would pursue a more expansionary monetary policy this year to brake the franc's appreciation, dealers said.

The dollar



## France Plans Rise in State Aid to Firms

From Agency Dispatches

PARIS — French Finance Minister Jacques Delors said Thursday that he will increase the amount of reduced-interest government loans for companies in 1982.

He told a conference of French business leaders this will follow a 200 percent increase in such loans to 22 billion francs in 1981 over 1980. The loans carry interest two points below long-term market rates.

Mr. Delors also said reforms to government savings institutions will include unspecified measures to favor capital.

Mr. Delors was one of only three economics ministers who received favorable ratings in a national poll of 642 company chief executives in France. The other two were Regional Affairs and Planning Minister Michel Rocard and Industry Minister Pierre Dreyfus, according to the poll published by the French economic magazine *L'Expansion*.

Premier Pierre Mauroy ranked among the least popular.

As well, 91 percent of the business leaders are pessimistic about economic prospects in 1982 with the only favorable overall judgment of the economic policy of the Socialist government was the reduction of interest rates, which was approved by 81 percent of those polled.

Only 4 percent of those polled said they realistically hoped to increase earnings in 1982, while 33 percent expect them to decrease.

The government's nationalization program, the new "wealth tax" and increased corporate charges have chilled the French business climate in France.

### Gainers and Losers in 1981

Stocks with largest price change from 1980. Does not include issues suspended from trading during the year.

#### New York Stock Exchange

Stock	High	Low	Close	Percent Change
<b>Gainers</b>				
General Mills	18.35	16.35	16.13	+14.8%
Dell	49.50	19.63	48.00	+14.6%
Motorola	78.60	6.00	44.75	+13.1%
LITCO Corp	29.75	13.25	29.75	+12.9%
Boeing	57.75	14.15	33.50	+12.4%
Chrysler Corporation	70.13	20.00	66.63	+12.3%
General Foods	23.75	13.35	19.00	+12.2%
U.S. G.	35.00	12.75	27.75	+11.7%
McDonnell Douglas	92.15	11.45	27.00	+11.6%
Airline Ast	23.50	10.15	22.00	+11.2%
Dow Jones	25.25	18.75	49.50	+10.7%
Service Corp. International	25.50	10.65	24.75	+10.6%
General Telephone	22.00	15.85	14.15	+10.5%
Stoller-Globe	13.50	6.15	12.25	+10.4%
AT&T	20.00	12.00	18.00	+10.3%
Tenneco	10.15	4.35	9.15	+10.1%
General Instrument	26.25	13.25	25.25	+10.0%
Philips Industries	17.25	6.75	14.15	+9.8%
Exxon	24.25	14.25	23.50	+9.7%
Overall Transportation	31.13	13.35	27.50	+9.7%
<b>Losers</b>				
McDonnell Douglas	90.00	10.00	2.00	-95.0%
Industry Financial	10.25	2.65	2.05	-72.5%
General Telephone	22.00	15.00	12.00	-55.0%
Telcom	12.75	3.15	3.50	-69.9%
Exxon	20.00	12.00	14.75	-55.0%
Socony Mobil	25.00	7.50	6.35	-55.1%
General Dynamics	25.00	12.00	10.75	-55.0%
Parke-Davis	33.85	11.85	12.15	-62.7%
General Foods	20.00	11.15	11.25	-55.0%
General	30.75	10.25	11.75	-60.8%
Continental Airlines	11.00	4.25	6.02	-55.0%
Continental	20.35	8.50	8.15	-58.3%
Continental	6.00	1.50	1.85	-57.1%
Financial Federatio	30.00	13.35	15.25	-56.7%

The New York Times

## Foreign Buying of U.S. Equities Drops Sharply

### Lower Rates, '81 Losses Cut Wall Street's Attractiveness

By Gary Pucka  
AP-Down Jones

NEW YORK — The flood of foreign investing in U.S. stocks in the past two years has slowed to a trickle. And with many of the factors suppressing this source of funds not expected to change in the near future, some analysts are beginning to count foreigners out as a major prop to U.S. equities markets in 1982.

A new survey by the Securities Industry Association shows that net foreign purchases of U.S. equities in the third quarter shrank to \$659 million from a second quarter total of \$2.9 billion. While the SIA figures are the latest authoritative ones available, brokers of foreign stock orders on Wall Street say that the fourth quarter and first few days of 1982 continued the third quarter's depressed trend. The SIA survey was mailed to the trade group's membership Wednesdays.

Prospects of a steady influx of foreign funds has been an important part of the long-term bullish argument for stocks since OPEC began building up tremendous cash surpluses in the late 1970s. The SIA data show that without the oil-exporting nations, there would have been negligible foreign buying of stocks for the third period. But the bearish prospects for the price of oil and intensified spending by the Arab nations on internal development may take away the Mideast stimulus this year, some analysts believe.

#### 'Little Buying'

"What you've had is more import of hard goods on the part of the Mideast countries, notably Saudi Arabia," said Robert G. Smith, a partner at Gray, Seifert & Co., a New York investment man-

ager firm. "There are fewer liquid reserves available for foreign investment."

Peter Tanous, chairman of Petra Capital Corp., a New York investment house representing investors from Arab countries, said, "There has been very little buying" by Middle East investors since the third quarter, with the first few days of the new year especially dull.

Mr. Tanous said that Middle East investors tend to follow market trends rather than try to anticipate them and have left U.S. stocks for now because of poor performance relative to other investments. A lot of Arab money is staying in Kuwait's stock market, which is closer to foreigners, and has "been incredibly lucrative lately," said Mr. Tanous.

Those injuries were inflicted as the Europeans bought about \$3 billion in U.S. stocks during the first half of last year, only to have the major market indexes drop about 10 percent in the second half.

The dollar's poor showing against the first few helped stifle foreign investment, said SIA analyst Carolyn Hildebrandt. While a strong dollar typically depresses foreign imports of U.S. goods, it usually stimulates buying of dol-

lar-denominated stocks and bonds, as Europeans look for a way out of their own weak currencies.

#### Bonds Buoyed

Foreign buying of U.S. corporate and Treasury bonds sped up during the July-September period, largely because interest rates were peaking in the United States and U.S. yields were higher than those in the rest of the world. The SIA said that net buying of corporate issues rose to \$980 million, up 23 percent from the third quarter, while purchases of government issues almost doubled, to \$4.3 billion.

"It has been a period of quiet selling," said George Fairweather, managing partner of Sheppards & Chase Overseas, a British-American securities firm. "Besides the Swiss, who are doing a little buying, activity is off about 40 percent. Most of the Europeans are just licking their wounds."

Those injuries were inflicted as the Europeans bought about \$3 billion in U.S. stocks during the first half of last year, only to have the major market indexes drop about 10 percent in the second half.

With lower U.S. interest rates, SIA economist Jeffrey Schaefer said he believes that European investors will not be keen on the U.S. stock markets for some time.

"Projecting a softer dollar on the basis of lower relative U.S. interest rates, I don't see how anyone can look to the foreign investors to

be a support for the U.S. market in 1982," he said.

The SIA also found that despite considerable talk on Wall Street of investing abroad, U.S. investors showed relatively little interest in the third quarter. U.S. investors chalked up net sales of foreign stocks of \$242 million compared with net buying of \$164 million in the second quarter. The biggest switch was away from Japanese equities, which had attracted \$621 million of net purchases in the second quarter. The figure was \$127 million in net sales from July to September.

### Belgians to Ask Japan To Continue Auto Pact

Reuters

TOKYO — A Belgian government delegation will visit Japan Monday for talks with officials on Japanese auto shipments to Belgium, Japanese Foreign Ministry officials said Thursday.

Industry sources said the delegation is expected to ask Japan for a continuation of the voluntary restraints on car sales to Belgium to which it agreed last year. Japan exported 102,400 cars to Belgium in 1981. 8.4 percent fewer than in 1980, they added.

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Algeria (air)	\$ 230.00	115.00	63.00		Lebanon (air)	S 230.00	115.00	63.00	Romania (air)	\$ 230.00	115.00	63.00
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Colombia (air)	\$ 330.00	165.00	92.00		Iraq (air)	S 230.00	115.00	63.00	Sweden (air)	S 310.00	165.00	82.50
Cyprus (air)	\$ 230.00	115.00	63.00		Lebanon (air)	S 248.00	124.00	69.00	Switzerland (air)			







# NFL Commissioner States His Case: The 28 Teams Are Rivals Only on the Field

Pete Rozelle, commissioner of the National Football League since 1960, last month testified before a congressional subcommittee that was holding hearings on anti-trust laws and policies as they affect professional sports. Rozelle was asking the congressmen to enact legislation that would recognize the NFL as a single entity, like a national chain store. In the following article, he details his argument.

By Pete Rozelle

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — A few call it "parity." Others cry of "mediocrity."

But in cities like San Francisco, Cincinnati, Tampa and New York last weekend, as well as in millions of television households across the United States, football fans were using terms like "excitement" and "entertainment" as they watched one of the most interesting seasons in my 22 years as National Football League commissioner approach its conclusion.

It has been a season in which a record average of 60,745 tickets were sold for each of the 224 regular-season games. A season in which more than 25 percent of all games were decided by 3 points or fewer. A season in which overall television ratings were up over 1980, including the highest ratings in the 12-year history of the Monday night series. And it has been a season in which six of the 10 playoff teams were not playoff participants last season.

What accounts for all this? Largely the fact that, while the NFL's 28 teams are clearly competitors on the field, they are co-producers and co-sellers in producing and marketing. In this regard, they are not competitors; rather, they are partners acting together in a common enterprise.

A brief history is instructive.

While some have described our product with words like "parity" and "mediocrity," I prefer to use the term "balance." Balance is what the founders of the league, men like George Halas of the Chicago Bears, sought to accomplish when they started it all in Canton, Ohio, in 1920. The goal of the NFL's founding fathers was to establish rules that permitted each of the franchises to have the opportunity to field a team that would be competitive with the other teams in the league.

Right from the early days of the league's existence, visiting teams received a share of the gate receipts. The NFL's current policy, the most equitable in all professional sports, ensures that the road team receives 40 percent of the gate. This helps a club like the Baltimore Colts, which has had some poor won-lost records in recent years and consequently low attendance at home in Memorial Stadium. This season, when Baltimore played in sold-out stadiums in Denver and Philadelphia, the Colts brought home 40 percent of all ticket revenues generated by the game. This

helps the Colts in much the same fashion as the Dallas Cowboys, a 1960 expansion team, were aided when they struggled through their early years. The Cowboys could count on a substantial paycheck when they visited Baltimore in the days when Memorial Stadium had a string of 51 consecutive sellouts of 60,000 plus.

The spirit of NFL teams' helping their business partners to remain competitive on the field was the reason that in 1935 a draft of eligible college players was initiated. During the late 1920s and early 1930s, the winning teams were attracting the best players. The weaker clubs could sign only the players who were left. Halas, Tim Mara of the Giants, Bert Bell of the Eagles and the other club presidents agreed to a system whereby the team that finished with the poorest record each season would get the first choice out of the collegiate pool the following year. The draft system again helped keep teams competitive and helped attract larger crowds. And larger crowds meant more revenues for the club and larger salaries for the players.

The most significant example of this NFL partnership system, I believe, occurred in 1961, the year after I became commissioner. The impact of television revenue was beginning to be felt by the clubs, and it was clear that this impact would soon be of great significance to the league. For example, because they

played in the huge television markets of New York and Chicago, the Giants and the Bears would certainly warrant much larger television contracts than the Packers in Green Bay or the Steelers in Pittsburgh. The club presidents again recognized that the competitive balance of the league could be destroyed if the clubs in the big cities were earning much more money than those in the smaller communities.

So, in 1961, the clubs agreed to share all television money equally. Congress then approved a bill legalizing single network television contracts for professional sports leagues. President Kennedy signed it into law. The 1961 decision by the clubs to give the commissioner authority to negotiate television contracts on their behalf has enabled the league to receive more than \$1 billion during the last two decades. I soon will begin to negotiate with the heads of the major networks for a new, equally shared package starting in 1982.

## Defense of Scheduling

This brief glimpse of NFL history is important, because a number of critics have attacked our current scheduling format as the root of the so-called parity problem. These detractors cite the new scheduling procedures, which were put into effect in 1978, as an artificial system to reward the poorer teams and improve the most successful franchises.

The above examples give some indica-

tion that the clubs' current front offices have precedent on their side in helping those NFL teams that need help the most. But, in any case, I believe that criticism of our current scheduling procedures is unfounded. In fact, we now have the most equitable scheduling format in the league's history.

When the AFL-NFL merger was implemented in 1970, the regular-season schedule called for round-robin divisional play over a nine-month period. Teams were scheduled to play all other divisional teams on a rotating basis. But major inequities developed. In 1976, for example, the Minnesota Vikings had an 11-2-1 record while winning the Central Division title in the National Conference, but they played just three teams with winning records. Conversely, the Vikings were 3-11 and played 10 games against teams with winning records.

When the league decided to extend its regular season from 14 to 16 games for the 1978 season, I asked Jim Kenis, who is now the president of the Jets but was then the league's executive director, to devise a 28-team, 16-game schedule with more balance. Kenis produced the current plan, which later was approved by the clubs.

While some have called the new formal "position scheduling" or a schedule that "pits the strong against the strong and the weak against the weak," it really is "balanced scheduling," or "common-game scheduling."

A team that finishes first through fourth in any division plays just four of its 16 games the following season based upon where it finished the previous year. Is that really "position scheduling"? Meanwhile teams that finish first and fourth play 16 common opponents, as do teams that finish second and third.

True, fifth-place teams, such as the Giants and the Jets of 1980, play other fifth-place teams and thus have fewer common opponents than their divisional rivals. However, the degree to which this has been true has been debatable.

The Giants made it to the playoffs despite losing three of their four games played against other fifth-place teams. The Jets were 2-2 against the same competition. The Giants' 1981 schedule of games, half of which were played against strong NFC Eastern Division foes, was the fourth-toughest in terms of their opponents' overall won-lost percentage (.533). The Jets' schedule included four games, 25 percent of the entire season, against the AFC Eastern Division rivals, New England and Baltimore, each of which finished with a 2-14 record. So it is largely as a result of this that the overall winning percentage of the Jets' opponents was the lowest in the league (.438).

During the four-year period since the inception of the common-opponent format, 79 percent of the fourth-place teams have improved their records the

following season, and four teams have moved from fourth place to first place. Meanwhile, only one team, Tampa Bay in 1979, won a division title after finishing fifth the previous year. And even then, Tampa Bay had the best intradivision record in the NFC's Central Division.

If you can sense a trend there, then you are more perceptive than I.

I've listened to the contentions that all our rules, policies and scheduling formats have brought us to a point where there are no longer any outstanding teams in the league. I know it is arguable, but I feel there are more good teams today, as opposed to more average teams. The have-not clubs of the 1960s and the '70s have improved their entire football programs. All the teams are paying much more attention to scouting, modern coaching techniques, year-round programs of conditioning and so forth.

I'll repeat one axiom for those fans who disagree with our existing policies. It's something I first heard many years ago, when I was general manager of the Los Angeles Rams. Commissioner Bert Bell would often say, "On any given Sunday, one NFL team can beat any other NFL team."

That remains true today as the NFL approaches the completion of its 62d season. I don't think the fan would have it any other way.

## Chargers' Winslow—Call Him a Receiver

By Dave Anderson  
New York Times Service

SAN DIEGO — Under the microscope of the Super Bowl, Kellen Winslow is in focus now as a tight end in a class by himself. Except that he is not a traditional tight end. In the San Diego Chargers' pass-oriented offense, he also lines up as a wide receiver, a halfback, a fullback and a slotback.

Some people don't even consider me a tight end," he said with a smile. "I just call myself a receiver."

Whenever he lines up, Winslow is all football player. When the Chargers qualified for Sunday's American Conference championship game in Cincinnati with a 41-38 overtime victory in Miami, he set a divisional playoff record with 13 receptions for 166 yards in his role as the untraditional tight end. And he also leaped to block a 42-yard field-goal attempt that, had it been successful, would have won for the Dolphins in the closing seconds of regulation time.

Beginning with the final minutes of regulation and throughout more than 13 minutes of overtime, he often wobbled to the sideline in apparent exhaustion. He also was winching in severe pain from a shoulder ailment and bleeding from a split lip that required four stitches.

**Most Dramatic**

He drew his left forefinger from the top of his right pinky down across the base of his right hand.

"But if we don't win Sunday," he said, "that'll be the last game I'll ever mean anything at all."

Three years ago, ironically, Winslow figured the Cincinnati Bengals would select him with the third choice in the first round of the draft. As an All-American at the University of Missouri, he was considered a blue-chip prospect by NFL scouts.

The way everybody was talking, the Buffalo Bills were going to take Tom Cousineau with the first choice, and they did," he said, referring to the Ohio State linebacker who joined Montreal of the Canadian Football League instead.

This week he has minimized his exhaustion and his shoulder injury.

"I just had a shoulder bruise, and I think I looked a lot more tired than I was," he said. "Watching the game film, I didn't see anything that I hadn't seen before. I guess it was the most dramatic game I've ever played, but I don't

think it was the best game I've ever played."

Perhaps not, but it will do until he tops it.

For all the receptions and all the yardage," he said, "I got more satisfaction out of blocking the field goal. It was something I'd never done before. It had always been a dream of mine."

He not only is 6 feet 5 inches, but he also is a leaper despite his 252 pounds.

**A Sound Choice**

"I've never played organized basketball, but I can touch the orange stripe near the top of the backboard," he said. "I was on our field-goal blocking unit as a rookie two years ago, but I wasn't last year, and this year I was sent out there only twice. But last Saturday the coaches motioned for me to go out there just as I looked to see if they wanted me."

As the Chargers' highest leaper, he jumps where he expects the ball to be.

"My job is to figure the angle of the kicker, whether he's trying to hook it or kick it straight. On the one I blocked, I figured that Uwe Von Schamann being a soccer-style kicker, he would try to hook it over the left side of their center's tail, so I jumped between their center and their left guard. The ball hit me right here."

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